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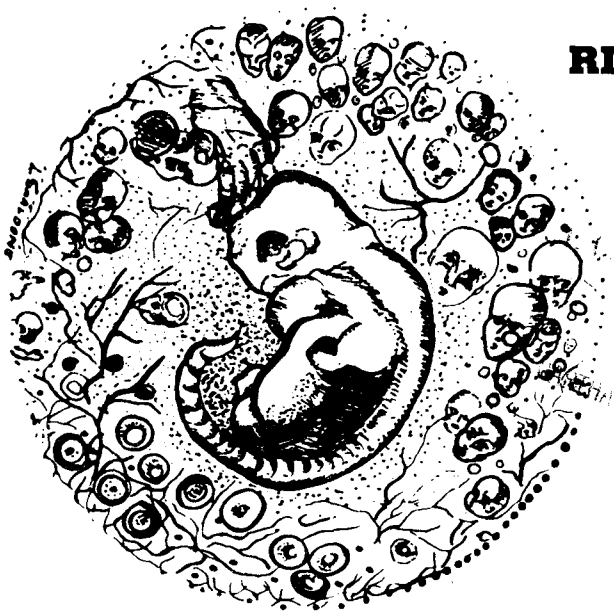
RICHARD J. NEUHAUS



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CORRESPONDENCE: THE JEWISH VOTE

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NEWS & VIEWS

The SST's Resurrection

As sure as night follows day, the Nixon Administration is going to follow voter ratification of a second term with an effort to resurrect the supersonic transport (SST) from the dustheap of Congressional legislation.

Spiro Agnew was emphatic enough on the point during his campaigning. And the *Wall Street Journal* clued more recently that other wheels are in motion.

The tactic, it appears, will be to concede that the SST shot down by Congress in 1971 was a dodo bird, but that new technology has made possible a plane that is quieter, can fly longer distances and can out-economize the Concorde and the TU-144, the French-British and Russian versions of the SST.

Of course this still leaves such matters as the sonic boom (the SST would carve out a bang-zone 50 miles wide), engineering and safety liabilities, and customer demand. The airlines are having trouble enough trying to fill their 747s without going to bigger-load SSTs.

To these difficulties are now added the findings of a panel of scientists appointed by the National Research Council to assess arguments made in *Science* magazine 15 months ago that the SST could endanger earth by tipping the ozone scale of the stratosphere. Ozone, found in the region 10 to 30 miles aloft, is a major absorber of lethal wave lengths of ultraviolet sunlight. The SST would operate in the lower part of this region.

The panel of 11 scientists stopped short of a definitive assessment but did state that fears about ozone depletion are a legitimate cause for concern, and that the nitric acids from SSTs could serve as catalysts converting ozone into oxygen gas, and thus lay the earth open to increasingly large dosages of ultraviolet radiation.

Instead of retooling for development of the SST, the panel suggested that the government should be obtaining "baseline data" on the stratosphere so that it will be possible to determine accurately the extent to which the SST will pollute that region. It said that nimbus satellites could be used to monitor changes in the ozone and water-vapor contents of the stratosphere, and that ground stations around the world could watch for changes in ultraviolet radiation reaching the earth.

How receptive the Nixon Administration will be to this advice is as yet unknown. One guess is that it will push ahead careless of the consequences. The Nixon Administration has not shown itself to be long on issues whose stakes transcend its immediate advantage. In which case it will be up to Congress to fight again the fight it fought before and won. Hopefully, it will have the heart to go through the thing again.

Peyton Place Priests

Ralph McInerny, who cuts apart two John L'Heureux clerical novels in this week's pages, has a novel of kindred kind coming in May.

An in-house memo of a major book club describes McInerny's book as an "ecclesiastical Peyton Place" and sums up its plot thus:

"Young Frank Ascue is assigned his first parish in Ft. Elbow, Ohio, and there becomes involved in the seething, secret lives of those around him. There is Father Philip Bullard, radical priest, who has had an affair with a woman, thrown her over, and then rocks the church when he runs away and marries a nun. Frank's sister's husband Howard is having an affair with a 19-year-old, young enough to be his daughter, who tempts him to leave his wife and family. There is Frank's niece Beverly, who has had an affair with a young seminarian, gets pregnant, and wants to get an abortion. Throughout Frank is aware of how much the church is in a state of transition and questions his own feelings about celibacy, birth control, the church and the community, etc."

The memo says "this is Harper's big novel for the spring and they have big plans for it." No movie or paperback contracts yet, but the book will be a July alternate of the Literary Guild. First printing: 20,000. Title: *The Priest.*

Assistance Sought

The Hoa Binh Press, which launched itself by publishing James Forest's *Only the Rice Loves You*, is presently raising funds for its second venture, a poem-play by Thich Nhat Hanh, with foreword by Daniel Berrigan.

The play was occasioned by the assassination of several young Vietnamese pacifists, and comes highly recommended. Its author is one of the leaders of the Vietnamese Buddhist community and one of his country's most highly regarded poets.

Thich Nhat Hanh's poetry has been outlawed by the Saigon government, and subjected to criticism (for its pacifism) by the National Liberation Front, Radio Hanoi and Radio Peking.

Nhat Hanh was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize several years ago by Martin Luther King. Thomas Merton commented on his writings in the final chapter of *Mystics and Zen Masters* and did the introduction to Nhat Hanh's book *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire.*

Contributions towards the poem-play's publication, as well as advance orders, are being received by the Hoa Binh Press, c/o Quaker Project, 13 East 17th St., NYC 10003.

Hoa Binh, incidentally is the Vietnamese word for peace.

Vadillo, *Siempre*, Mexico

Odds and Ends

—The journalism review [*More*] reveals that Wilfrid Sheed's *New York Times Book Review* essay on W. A. Swanberg's biography of Henry Luce was originally commissioned by *Life*, and killed in honored memory of. . . . No surprise; it was the definitive statement on Luce and complete put-down. Such perfect insights: "His [Luce's] memory span was just great for a weekly newsmagazine." And: "He rather ponderously pursued theological questions, as he pursued cultural ones, seeking the top thoughts from the absolutely top people, believing, tragically, that they could be popularized and still be the top thoughts."

—Paragraph from a *Providence Journal* story covering Mrs. Nixon's pre-election appearance at a GOP rally in Boston disrupted by hecklers: "Mrs. Nixon continued speaking through the episode although her words were lost to half of the auditorium. She appeared only slightly aware that anything had happened."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Jewish Vote

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: In Jack Nusan Porter's "Jewish Conservative Backlash?" [Oct. 13] Mr. Porter referred to "about three-quarters of the Jewish vote" going to Rizzo in the April 1971 Philadelphia primary. Porter continues, "In his successful campaign in November 1971 for mayor, Rizzo was elected with the overwhelming support of Jewish voters." Both of these statements are incorrect. According to Cohen and Sandrow, *Philadelphia Chooses a Mayor, 1971*, American Jewish Committee, 1972, Rizzo received 42 percent of the "Jewish vote" in the primary and 50 percent in the election.

HOWARD W. YAGERMAN
Researcher, The American
Jewish Committee

Culver City, Calif.

To the Editors: Jack Porter's article on the "Jewish conservative backlash" [Oct. 13] contains several distortions and outright errors that should be corrected. Rizzo didn't receive three-quarters of the Jewish vote in the Philadelphia primary nor did he get overwhelming support in the final campaign. A study by Rabbi Henry Cohen shows that Rizzo got only 44.5 percent of the Jewish vote in the primary and 50 percent in the final election. The A. O. L. did approve a new leftist Israeli being given a platform as Porter states, but he ignores the U.A.H.C. (Reform) national organization urging that Rabbi Kahane and speakers from the J.D.L. not be invited to speak. While it is true that several Jewish leaders and Rabbis endorsed Nixon (Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, chairman of the Greater N. Y. Conference on Soviet Jewry for example) the vast majority supported McGovern (18 signed an ad supporting him, in L.A.) and in fact the Jewish establishment has attacked the few Nixon supporters strongly.

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BEGINNING AGAIN

It would make no sense to soft-pedal the proportions or implications of the overwhelming McGovern defeat. And we stress that more than a Nixon victory it was a McGovern defeat. The election was not so much an outpouring of love for President Nixon as a national thumbs-down on the kind of basic change and moral confrontation that Senator George McGovern represents. At the same time there is evidence that this election signified a rejection of both candidates and of the whole American political leadership. This year forty-five percent of the eligible voters stayed home; it was the lowest turn-out, by percentage, since 1948. According to a pre-election *N.Y. Times*/Yankelovich survey, thirty-seven percent found neither candidate attractive. It seems, therefore, that the President now has the active support of about one-third of the people, and that the rest are still waiting for someone else who will understand their needs and embody their hopes.

There are a number of handy ways to explain McGovern's defeat: his "friend and neighbor" Hubert Humphrey attacked him so vehemently in the primaries and so misrepresented his economic proposals as "radical" that McGovern could never recover; the assassination attempt on George Wallace sent the racist vote to Nixon; the Eagleton affair—the sloppy selection of the candidate and, depending on your point of view, his dismissal or too-slow dismissal—undermined public confidence in McGovern as a decision-maker; the candidate never settled on the proper theme for his campaign—despite the daily free advice from Op-Ed page sachems that he "come home," concentrate more on the war, forget the war and stress economic issues, stress moral issues, "preach" less, stop explaining himself so much, and make more effort to explain himself to the old guard who *still* claimed they did not know where he stood on amnesty, abortion or marijuana.

With all due respect to conventional wisdom, we don't think McGovern ran such a bad campaign. If he erred on Eagleton, it may have been through an excess of compassion. That's the kind of error a good man should make. No candidate in recent history has been more open, more specific in his proposals. When he changed his programs he changed details without sacrificing their basic thrust. He faced the people and answered their questions. His stump speeches were good enough, and his TV specials,

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particularly those on Vietnam and the integrity issue, represented a blend of honesty and eloquence rare in public life. Compare this to Nixon who, as Pete Hamill said, "spent the election in hiding, the Howard Hughes of Presidential candidates; he let advertising agents and wire-tappers and burglars do his work for him."

We must look for a deeper reason for McGovern's crashing defeat. A Puerto Rican girl in a large Eastern urban Catholic university told her student paper: "It's too bad. He was just too moral. The society isn't ready for humanism. America is sick." The "America is sick" theory is a bit too simple; nor is it completely just. Yet, the unique element of McGovern's campaign was that it was a moral crusade. It was clear all along that to elect him might mean a public acknowledgement that America had been collectively morally wrong in its longest war that had cost over 55,000 American lives and millions of Vietnamese military and civilian casualities. America was ready to hear that Vietnam had been a *mistake*, but not that it had been wrong. Nor was it ready to hear that its wealth should be redistributed, especially when so many Americans—thanks, ironically, to the reforms initiated by Democratic Presidents—had just gained some precarious economic security for themselves. Nor was the white majority ready to share its neighborhoods and schools with blacks.

George McGovern remains in defeat as he was in battle—like Adlai Stevenson, a man of character who was right about the great issues facing his countrymen, addressing the best instincts of the people even when the people could not see their better selves in him. The questions he raised will be with us for a long time; and, as one journalist remarked, some future TV evening news will show the 92-year-old McGovern on his South Dakota porch as the Presidential helicopters flutter in to have him witness the signing of legislation his campaign has urged.

President Nixon remains in victory what he was before. He is not and never will be a moral leader. It is depressing to read his homilies for rugged individualism and his references to the American people as "children" who should not be spoiled. The President who will prepare America for its bicentennial celebration has given us the twentieth-century equivalent of "Let them eat cake."

Perhaps the Democrats, Liberals, disgusted Republicans, and all others who think America can do better should begin their preparations for 1976 by meeting in Boston's Faneuil Hall, asking what life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness mean today.

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CANADIAN ELECTION

SETBACK FOR TRUDEAU

Shortly after he dissolved Parliament Sept. 1 and called a general election, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau disclosed what the core of his campaign would be. "It is of no avail," Trudeau said, "now or later, to campaign on the government's record, but it is of very great avail to show the qualities of leadership and decision-making." The issue, in Trudeau's view, was the 53-year-old Prime Minister himself.

Trudeau proved to be half right, He *was* the major issue, but after 4½ years in office, he was inextricably bound to the record he had accumulated. And in the Oct. 30 election, Canadians repudiated both the man and his record. From a healthy majority of 147 seats in the 264-seat Parliament, the Liberals fell to 108, putting them in a flat tie with the opposition Progressive Conservatives. Trudeau chose to stay on as Prime Minister and seek a vote of confidence when the new Parliament convenes, but whether or not he wins will depend largely on the left-wing New Democratic Party, which increased its seats from 25 to 31. Pending recounts, the new Parliament will also include 15 representatives of the Quebec-based, right-wing Social Credit Party and two independents.

Despite party names, the election did not represent a triumph of "conservatism" over "liberalism." Both the Liberals and the Tories are middle-of-the-road parties advocating virtually indistinguishable policies. Foreign affairs was not an issue, with all parties supporting Trudeau's recognition of mainland China. It was Trudeau's failure to deal with Canada's social and economic problems that made him an easy target for the Conservatives as well as the NDP. As Trudeau admitted in an election post-mortem, "To a good many Canadians . . . the government in the past 4½ years was not satisfactory."

Trudeau emphasized his failures by his refusal to discuss issues during the campaign. Asked what had become of his 1968 promise to build a "just society," Trudeau replied testily, "The next time you see Jesus Christ, ask him what happened to the just society he promised 2,000 years ago." Campaigning under the vague Liberal slogan, "The land is strong," Trudeau spoke at other times as if he had ushered in the millennium. "Canadians," he said, "can now feel they have just about got it made"—a statement that ignored the soaring prices, record unemployment (7.1 percent of the work force) and ever-rising taxes. Although still good-looking and glamorous, he was no longer able to depend

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on the Trudeaumania that swept him into power in 1968; now, many voters saw him as an arrogant, cynical politician.

Trudeau had hoped to contrast his "leadership qualities" with those of Tory leader Robert Stanfield, a 58-year-old former Nova Scotia Premier. A gangling, bland man, Stanfield was hardly an exciting campaigner, but he came across as sincere and solid. He criticized Trudeau from the left and the right, attacking the Prime Minister for trying to fight inflation by boosting unemployment and pledging to reduce the high cost of jobless benefits.

Stanfield was helped by the vigorous campaign waged by the NDP, a moderate, British Labor-type "socialist" party that now controls three provincial Parliaments. NDP leader David Lewis, a 63-year-old labor lawyer, repeatedly raised the issue of "corporate welfare bums" —businesses, frequently American-owned, that Lewis charged take advantage of government incentives and tax loopholes to avoid paying anywhere near their fair share of taxes. The issue gained Lewis substantial media attention, but the NDP polled only 18 percent of the vote, one percent more than in 1968. Indications are, however, that Lewis' criticisms of Trudeau helped swing several districts from Liberal to Conservative.

The Conservatives and the NDP also profited from an issue they did not raise—the "English backlash" against "French power" in the federal government in Ottawa. One of Trudeau's accomplishments had been passage of the Official Languages Act, which attempted to put French on an equal footing with English in the civil service. Even though Trudeau in fact did little to implement the Act, many English-speaking Canadians resented bilingualism, as well as the large number of French-Canadians in Trudeau's cabinet and the economic "handouts" Quebec received. All parties officially support bilingualism, but Trudeau bore the brunt of voter discontent.

While it is uncertain how important anti-French sentiment was in the election, the results do not bode well for Canadian unity. Quebec gave the Liberals 57 seats, more than half the Liberal total. The Tories, by contrast, won only two seats in Quebec but showed strength in the other nine provinces. Neither major party can claim to possess a truly national constituency. Understandably, the separatist *Parti Quebecois,* which did not participate in the federal election, was elated, certain that an image of Quebec standing alone against the rest of the country can only help the independence movement.

Trudeau can justify his refusal to resign on both moral and tactical grounds. While he clearly suffered a personal rebuke, his opposition did not receive a mandate to govern, either; the Liberals won 39 percent of the vote, compared to 35 percent for the Conservatives. Trudeau is aware that the under-financed NDP is as anxious as the Liberals to avoid a new election for at least a year. If he promises to take steps to reduce unemployment and close at least some tax loopholes, Trudeau can probably count on NDP votes on a confidence motion.

The danger to Canada is not that it is faced with minority government; rather, it is that neither major party, whether it rules with a majority or not, has shown itself capable of combating such deep-rooted problems as poverty, the disparity between rich provinces like Ontario and poor ones like Quebec, and the domination of the economy by American corporations. With both the Liberals and Tories heavily dependent on big business for contributions, the question of foreign ownership was almost totally ignored during the campaign, except by the NDP.

Nevertheless, these issues are likely to become the focus of increasing voter concern in the coming years. Hopefully, popular pressure will ultimately end the drift that has characterized Canadian governments for too long—a drift that can be expected to continue in the aftermath of the recent election. PETER FREIBERG

(Peter Freiberg, a reporter for the New York Post, *was formerly on the staff of the* Toronto Star.*)*

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COMMUNIST PURGE

CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Even Yugoslavs find it hard to unravel the complexities of their country's political intrigues. So the *New York Times* should be indulged for characterizing the current Yugoslav party purge and wave of arrests as Tito's attempt to come "to the aid of the party" wracked by growing national divisions. The knowledgeable London *Economist* and Milan's *Corriere della Sera* more accurately attributed the crisis of the Yugoslav regime to a determined power bid by the military and the conservative Belgrade bureaucratic establishment.

The seriousness of the crisis is indicated by the magnitude of the party purge and the thousands of arrests. Since the ouster a year ago of Croatia's liberal Communist leadership, 16,000 intellectuals, students and workers have been jailed in that republic alone on an assortment of charges ranging from alleged "counter-revolutionary activities" to making disparaging remarks about Tito and his wife Jovanka.

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Now the purge has spread to Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic. In late October the republic's top leader's Marko Nikezic and Mme. Latinka Perovic were forced to resign. Then followed the sudden ouster of Yugoslavia's liberal Foreign Minister Mirko Tepavac and the resignation of Serbia's foremost leader in Yugoslavia's collective presidency, General Koca Popovic. Characteristically the newly named Secretary of the Serbian Communist party is a "skilled worker" referred to in a *New York Times* dispatch only by his first name, Nikola (Nick). Yugoslavs were no less at a loss to identify this totally obscure individual whose purpose is to underscore the "greater participation of workers" in Yugoslavia's leadership after 27 years of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A year ago I talked extensively with General Vladimir Popovic (not to be confused with Koca Popovic) who had for years been one of Tito's closest associates. (Vladimir Popovic suddenly died earlier this year.) In our talks which went over a period of several weeks and lasted many hours a disillusioned Popovic accurately told me of the impending crisis and attributed it to Tito's advanced age (he was 80 last spring), and a fierce behind-the-scenes bid by the military leadership and the secret police for the President's succession.

"Tito remains in good health for a man of 80," Popovic told me. "But, age takes its toll. He is unable to work for more than three to four hours per day. After this he becomes visibly tired and is unable to focus on problems before him. His reasoning becomes fuzzy and he starts to repeat himself." As Tito has grown older he has become impatient with criticism and takes dislike to anyone who contradicts him. He has come to depend increasingly for political advice on his vigorous middle-aged wife Jovanka whom he insists on bringing even to the meetings of the government and the top party leaders, to the obvious displeasure and occasional protests of some of them. Over the past few years Tito and Jovanka have increasingly surrounded themselves by a coterie of army and police leaders, whom Popovic characterized as "unscrupulous and ambitious."

Foremost among those currently enjoying Tito's and Jovanka's confidence are General Ivan Miskovic, a Croat, who has gained absolute control over Yugoslavia's ramified secret police, intelligence and espionage network, and General Nikola Ljubicic, a Serb and Yugoslavia's Defense Minister, who acts as spokesman for the military high command. Miskovic and Ljubicic have apparently convinced Tito that the Communist party had to be purged of "liberals" and "dissident intellectuals" and reduced to disciplined obedience if the Yugoslav state is to endure after Tito's departure from the Presidency.

Essentially then, the massive purge which may, if Tito's threats are carried out, lead to the expulsion of half of Yugoslavia's million Communists, is not intended to "strengthen the party" but to weaken it as a rival of the army and the secret police in the struggle for Tito's succession. Vladimir Popovic, however, warned that the currently ascendant military-police coalition is itself unstable; for Miskovic and Ljubicic and their respective organizations are themselves rivals for the control of Yugoslavia.

The internationally alarming facet of Tito's growing reliance on the military and the secret police and the concomitant power struggle for succession is that it offers the Soviet Union the long-waited-for opportunity to bring Yugoslavia back into its fold. Breznev has given Tito his wholehearted backing in purging the dissident party liberals and intellectuals. Moscow has shown its satisfaction over the turn of events by promising Yugoslavia a giant $1.3 billion loan to help her stabilize her shaky economy beset by galloping inflation and widespread unemployment.

For the past year the Soviets have been pressing Tito to grant them air and naval bases on Yugoslav soil, something Tito has so far refused. But, he may eventually be forced to yield in view of the internal weakening of his regime and Yugoslavia's growing dependence on Soviet economic assistance and military support. Miskovic's views concerning the Soviet demands for bases are unknown. But General Ljubicic has been a frequent and welcome visitor in the Soviet Union where he has conferred lengthily with both Brezhnev and the Soviet military leaders. Ljubicic and the Serbian generals are inclined to accommodate the Soviet request.

MATTHEW MESTROVIC

(Matthew Mestrovic, a frequent contributor, is on the faculty of Fairleigh Dickinson University.)

COMING

PHILIP SCHARPER writes about change in the church ten years after the Council's beginning:

"For over two decades, many social scientists and some philosophers have been trying to tell us that the characteristic of our age is revolution—rapid, radical change — in almost every sector of the human enterprise. Change no longer leads to stasis, however brief. The ascent no longer eventually brings us to a plateau broad enough to give us a breathing space, let alone spacious enough for building even a city of tents. Change leads to change leads to change. Flux, not fixity, is the basic dimension of modern man. So, at least, read the soundings of many who make it their business to study the course of human events, and the evidence for their position seems to mount higher every day."

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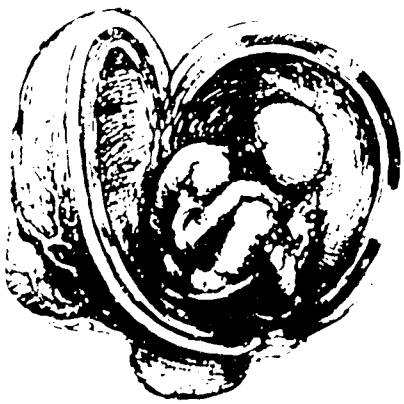
RICHARD J. NEUHAUS



The media are playing an important role in the abortion battle

The good citizens of New York State are girding their loins for another round in our wars of religion. Of course the abortion debate and this year's Battle of Albany should not be viewed as a war of religion. But the pro-abortion forces find it convenient to depict their opposition, alternately, as innocent victims of priestcraft or conscious agents of the Vatican's conspiracy to gain control of the body politic. The Archdiocese reinforces the stereotype by running its "pro-life" lobby virtually from the Cardinal's desk. To say the present situation is polarized is like suggesting that the relationship between Golda Meir and Colonel Qadaffi is somewhat strained. I am informed by people on both sides that this year no quarter is to be given, no mercy to be shown. Considering that the issue is presumably human liberation, on the one side, and reverence for life, on the other, it is a nasty scene.

The estimable and reverend Howard Moody of Judson Memorial Church, supported by the resources of the New York Civil Liberties Union, is drawing up the forces to ensure there will be no repeat of last year's repeal of abortion-on-demand. On that side are fighting most of the people who, over the years, I have come to know and respect as champions of social justice. Most of them, sorry to say, reject with passion the idea that abortion has anything to do with the nature of human life and society's obligation to protect life. How they have come to exclude this consideration has to do with the way issues, such as abortion, are slipped into the liberal-radical package, and with the psychology of people who buy their politics prepackaged. In any case, it would require a skillful sociologist of knowledge to analyze the way in which the patent connection between human life and unborn children has become a "forbidden perception" in the world of discourse inhabited by pro-abortion militants.

On the other side are the Cardinal, Senator Buckley, the Conservative Party, and others who have with equal felicity restrained their public passions for social justice. With a selective compassion that is wondrous to hear defended they have harmonized their reverence for life with silence on—or even positive enthusiasm for—war, capital punishment, and the repression of the uppity poor. The "Right to Life" forces, let it be said, include many who are possessed by a less discriminating respect for humanity and who find themselves, on this issue, embroiled in strange and singular alliance. These are people who fervently endorse the whole liberation litany, except they can't get over the suspicion, planted no doubt in some high school hygiene course, that that "thing" growing in the woman's womb is very much like a real baby. In any case, it is the purpose of this side not only to repeat last year's legislative repeal but, this time around, to make sure Governor Rockefeller does not veto the repeal. (Success on the last point may depend on whether the Governor plans on a political future in New York State or, as is rumored, will find political safety in a new Nixon cabinet.)

Let it further be said that there are yet others who care deeply about abortion and the social and moral questions it raises but who cannot in conscience support either repeal or the present abortion-on-demand. Unfortunately for them, and maybe for all of us, the existing rules of warfare do not allow a multiple choice. Alterna-

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tive proposals may be able to get a hearing after the present armies drag themselves back from Albany in defeat or triumph, but not now. Now the battle plans are set and those who have enlisted seem determined to threaten, lie, scheme, scream and, as occasion allows, debate until the timid solons collapse in one direction or the other. It is called democracy, and we are still looking for a satisfactory replacement.

One consequence of all this is that ecumenical relations are rapidly sliding toward a new low. While there are notable exceptions in all categories, the clerics of residual white Protestantism in New York City, together with most Reform and Conservative rabbis, are lined up with the pro-abortionists. Orthodox rabbis and Roman Catholic priests are on record in favor of repeal. Black Protestant clergy, the leaders of majority Protestantism in the city, are not prominent on either side, apparently feeling this is not their issue (more on black sentiment later). As the battle intensifies and allegations become more reckless, one suspects that the nineteenth century writings of "Maria Monk" *(Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal)* will by comparison seem to reflect an era of ecumenical good will. On several occasions I have been struck by the resurgence of previously concealed prejudices, tending to confirm the old maxim that anti-Catholicism is the anti-Semitism of intellectuals. So commonly are the "right to life" arguments dismissed as reflecting no more than the ignorance and/or subservience of those who, in an authoritarian system, are not permitted to think for themselves. It is all very sad.

Surveys and Surveys

As is to be expected, the media are playing an important role in the battle. For example, the city's CBS TV outlet has been giving major news attention to its "findings" that a growing majority of people in the region likes abortion-on-demand. A September 18 release was titled, "Seven out of Ten People in New York and New Jersey Now Approve Legal Abortion." In a poll directed by science editor Earl Ubell among more than 500 persons in May, 1972, it was discovered that 62 percent "approved abortion" and 31 percent disapproved. A similar poll in September indicated that the figures had changed to 71 percent and 22 percent, with Roman Catholic approval up fifteen points to 60 percent. Of the questions asked in the survey, only one dealt with abortion, the others being on political and other issues of public interest. This lone question was: "Do you agree or disagree that a woman should be able to get a legal abortion in New York State?" We need not dwell on the obvious superficiality of the survey, except to note that the whole dispute is over *the conditions* under which a woman should be able to get a legal abortion. The pre-1969 law permitted legal abortions under certain stated circumstances. The CBS survey is nonetheless useful as propaganda and was recently cited, for example, by the City's Commissioner of Human Rights (as reported by the *Times* without any background information on the survey) as proof that the overwhelming majority of citizens approves abortion-on-demand. Ms. Norton called on the small minority that wants to impose its religious views on other people to cease and desist. The "right to life" people are clearly and outrageously opposing the progress affirmed by "the people" (trying to return us all "to the dark ages," as Governor Rockefeller put it in last year's veto message).

There is another survey, however. It was commissioned by NBC-TV and conducted by Home Testing Institute of Manhasset, New York. It covered 1018 persons (46 per cent men, 54 per cent women) throughout the seventeen counties comprising the New York metropolitan area, plus Fairfield County, Connecticut. It is titled "Population Attitudes Study" and, through a large range of questions, probed peoples' feelings and opinions on everything from contraceptive use, sex education, the "population explosion," sterilization, and women in careers versus childbearing, to (five multi-part questions) abortion. The findings of this survey have received little public attention.

The parameter question in the survey, released September, 1972, goes like this: "Today in New York State, a woman can obtain an abortion at her request. Which of the following statements do you agree with the most: The decision to have an abortion should be made: 1) By the Woman alone, 2) By the Woman and her doctor, 3) By the Woman and her husband, 4) Only when the mother's life is in danger, 5) Should not be permitted under any circumstance." Two years and more than 400,000 abortions after the first choice ("By the Woman alone") has been legitimated as the law of the State, only 20 per cent of the respondents chose the first option. 22 per cent chose the old law ("Only when the life is in danger") and 8 per cent wanted an even more restrictive law ("Should not be permitted under any circumstances"). Thus while 20 per cent favor the present law, 30 per cent approve the prior or a more strict law. (15 per cent think the decision should be up to the woman and her doctor, 33 per cent want it left to the woman and her husband, while 2 per cent thought the consent of woman, doctor and husband should be required. 0 per cent had no opinion.)

Men favored abortion-on-demand slightly more (20 per cent) than women (19 per cent), while women (32 per cent) chose the two restrictive options more often than men (28 per cent). Single people chose the first option (24 per cent) more often than married (18 per cent), while the married affirmed the last two more frequently (32 per cent) than the single (23 per cent). As the summary of the report notes, "Blacks were much less in favor of abortion than whites." 15 per cent of the

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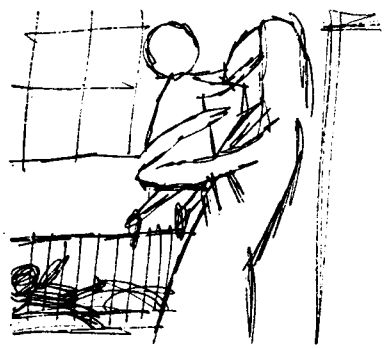
blacks chose the abortion-on-demand favored by 22 per cent of the whites. Even more significantly, 42 per cent of the blacks chose the two most restrictive options chosen by 26 per cent of the whites.

On the religious index, 25 per cent of the Jewish respondents favored abortion-on-demand, while 18 per cent of the Protestants and 15 per cent of the Roman Catholics made that choice. Selecting the last two options were 10 per cent of the Jews, 29 per cent of the Protestants, and 41 per cent of the Catholics (Catholics slightly less anti-abortion than blacks). For whatever it may mean, on this and other questions related to abortion, people in the 18 to 24 age range are, in some instances dramatically, more "pro-life" than people in the 25 to 34 range. (From here on I will use the terms "pro-life" and "pro-abortion" simply because that is the way the



two camps describe themselves. Admittedly, the terminology can be misleading. Also I will focus on the Roman Catholic and Jewish responses since, in all instances, the Protestant response fell between those two. Apparently 16 per cent of the respondents listed themselves as religiously unaffiliated.)

The "pro-life" forces claim that attitudes toward abortion are closely linked to other issues. Thus pro-life people would probably favor having more children than pro-abortion people, would be more sympathetic to adoption, more opposed to sterilization, and more suspicious of all the talk about a "population explosion." The survey probed respondents on all these questions. The survey also tried to explore the connection between attitude and actual behavior. So, for example, the question was asked of men: "If your wife (or girl friend) had an unwanted pregnancy which of the following would you want her to do? Would you want her to: 1) Have the baby and raise him or her, 2) Have the baby and give him or her up for adoption, 3) Terminate the pregnancy with an abortion."

The pro-life position would, of course, favor either of the first two options, the pro-abortion position the third. 51 per cent of the men favored having the baby (45 per cent also favor raising it, 6 per cent putting it up for adoption), while 33 per cent would favor abortion. The same percentage (33 per cent) of single and married men favor abortion, while many more single men (22 per cent) didn't know what they would do (12 per cent of the married had no opinion). White men are much more in favor of abortion (36 per cent) than black men (21 per cent). (It should be noted throughout that 17 per cent of all respondents were black, 78 per cent white. Had the survey reflected the racial makeup of New York City itself, and not the whole metropolitan region, the anti-abortion sentiment, it may reasonably be assumed, would have shown up even more strongly.) 56 per cent of the Jewish men responding would want the wife or girl friend to get an abortion, and 21 per cent of the Catholic men.

A similar question on the connection between attitude and behavior was asked of the women: "If you had an unwanted pregnancy, which of the following would you be most likely to do? [here follow the same three options offered the men]" Women have obviously thought about this question more than men. Only 9 per cent of the women had no opinion, while 16 per cent of the men registered no opinion. 34 per cent of the women would have an abortion, while 50 per cent would have and raise the baby, and 7 per cent would put it up for adoption. Single women (45 per cent) chose abortion over married women (32 per cent). White women (36 per cent) over black women (27 per cent), and Jewish women (66 per cent) over Catholic women (20 per cent).

A case-by-case analysis of the correlation, or contradiction, between attitude and projected behavior is of course impossible from such a survey. It is obvious, however, that there is no statistical contradiction between the number of women who favor abortion-on-demand (19 per cent) and the number who would abort an unwanted pregnancy (34 per cent). That is, it is statistically likely that the additional 15 per cent assume they could get an abortion under a law more restrictive than the present one. It is possible some would envision an illegal abortion. It is, furthermore, almost certain that some who favor the present law would not themselves choose to have an abortion.

To take but a few more nuggets from the survey (I suggest the serious student get his own copy of the report from NBC-TV, Rockefeller Center, New York City, and do his or her own mining), people were asked, "Would you ever consider adopting a child?" Now the pro-life forces sometimes contend that the pro-abortionists are guilty of a basically anti-natalist attitude and, if they prevail, will create a social climate as hostile to "unwanted children" as it is to "unwanted pregnancies." Whatever the merits of that argument, it is not borne out by this survey. 63 per cent of the respondents said they would consider adopting a child, 24 per cent would not, and 11 per cent said maybe. Unmarried respondents, women and whites were more likely to consider adoption than would men, married people and blacks. 74 per cent of the Jewish respondents would consider adop-

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tion, as would 59 per cent of the Roman Catholics and 57 per cent of the Protestants.

"If a couple has had all the children they want, should one of them consider having a sterilization operation—that is, an operation that would make it impossible for them to have further children?" Again, we return to the pattern that the pro-life people claim exists: women, married people, blacks, and 18-24-year-olds are all significantly more opposed to sterilization. We return to the pattern, that is, except on the religious index, where the differentiation is smaller than one might expect. 39 per cent of the Catholics and 40 per cent of the Jews favor sterilization. 51 per cent of the Catholics and 45 per cent of the Jews are opposed. Only the Protestants (49 per cent) seem to like the idea of sterilization (Catholics and Jews should refrain from drawing unkind, if obvious, theological inferences).

The now familiar pattern holds also in response to the question: "If you were starting a family today, how many children would you like to have?" More married, black, Catholic and 18-24-year-old people would like to have more than two children. The same proportion (59 per cent) of men and women, however, would like to have two or less. 7 per cent of the Catholics and 3 per cent of the Jews would want six or more children. Whether this reflects pro-life affirmation or sheer masochism was not determined.

It is sometimes argued that one's attitude toward all the above issues is, at least in part, determined by what one thinks of the "population explosion." There is no doubt some kind of relationship exists here in many people's minds, and it is therefore possibly significant that Catholics, blacks and married people are generally less impressed by the alleged dangers of population growth. The question was: "Do you think that the rate at which this country's population is growing is: 1) A very serious problem, 2) A serious problem, 3) Not so serious a problem, 4) No problem at all." The female respondents, contrary to the pattern under discussion, seem to take the dangers of population growth more seriously than do the men.

Conclusions

What is to be made of all this? Every schoolchild knows that statistics can be made to say anything. That elementary suspicion of statistical games is, I believe, healthy; for every one instance in which such suspicion keeps someone in ignorance of significant facts, there are probably ten instances in which he is shielded from computerized nonsense. In any case, the questions raised in the abortion debate touch on some of the most profound moral, political and philosophical issues of social order—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for example. Such questions cannot be answered by Random Digit Dialing.

Nonetheless, "what the people think" is a crucial factor in any democratic determination of public policy. And surveys such as "A Population Attitudes Study" (not such as CBS-TV's once-over-lightly gleaning of partisan ammunition) are one way—happily without public authority—of finding out what the people are thinking. Then too, the pro-abortion forces rely heavily on the statistics game with their persistent claim that a small and sinister minority of clerical minions is trying to overthrow the will of the overwhelming majority. If the NBC study is to be believed—and it is up to its detractors to produce a more reliable survey—this pro-abortionist claim is patent nonsense.

More particularly, the facts challenge the pro-abortionists' claim that they are speaking for women, the poor and the blacks. If by "speaking for" they mean they are speaking in the interest of these groups, that is a matter of opinion. But if they mean, as I gather they usually do mean, that they are reflecting the views of these groups, that claim is contradicted by the evidence. Liberal types are frequently, and often rightly, castigated for presuming to know what is best for others. Many pro-abortionists who consider themselves liberals would be scandalized by the charge of elitism. Yet "A Population Attitudes Study," combined with other surveys and with my eleven years of observation in the black and poor section of Brooklyn where I live and work, leads me to the conclusion that there is a distinctly elitist cast to the pro-abortion movement (I deal with this and related topics more thoroughly in my book *In Defense of People*, Macmillan). Elitism need not be the worst of sins. After all, people with money and education may in some instances know better than others without money and education. They may even have some obligation to educate those who are "less advantaged." But they insult the beneficiaries of their largesse, and they deceive themselves, when they presume to understand what other people think better than do the people themselves—in this case, the women, the poor, and the blacks.

The argument and evidence offered here will be no more than a small intervention lost in the cacophany of battle. I think it more than possible that New York's present law will be repealed and that the Governor will not again veto the repeal. It is unlikely that the battle will end there, however. The old law is too unsatisfactory to too many people. Perhaps, after repeal, a new and more moderate debate can be initiated. Such a debate might lead to public policy that affirms in practice the sanctity of human life, a policy that encourages women and those most initimately involved to make mature moral decisions about abortion. Such a debate might raise the now dismally low level of moral discourse in our society. Such debate might bring together the now divided moral and religious traditions, in a common search for a better way in our common life.

But not now. Not yet.

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THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC BROADCASTING

JOHN PARIS

It is not surprising that Nixon's veto provoked stunned reaction

Last June the House by a vote of 377-8 passed and sent to the President S 3824, the 1972 Public Broadcast bill. This bill would have provided a one-year authorization of $45 million dollars for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and $25 million in facilities grants to local stations. The five minutes it took the Senate to pass S 3824 and the lack of opposition in the House give little indication of the tempestuous political history that public broadcasting experienced this year.

The measure had originally been introduced by Torbert Macdonald, the chairman of the House Communications subcommittee, as a five-year authorization proposal whose funding was slated to rise from $65 million to $160 million per year over the life of the act. Macdonald introduced his proposal at the behest of the Corporation because the Nixon Administration, which had repeatedly promised but never delivered a permanent financing plan, offered the prospect of little more than another inadequate one-year grant of $35 million.

After Macdonald submitted his plan, the Administration countered with a scheme for a one-year $45 million authorization and the reiterated promise of the long awaited permanent financing by June of 1973. In the subcommittee debates over the proposals, Macdonald sought to compromise with the Administration on a three-year funding for the CPB. Finally he had to settle for a two-year authorization which was considered by the Corporation as the minimal time needed to develop quality programs. The compromise was supported by all of the subcommittee members except the conservative James Collins of Texas who views public television as the equivalent of Russian propaganda agencies. The compromise was concurred in by all 43 members of the parent Commerce Committee except for Collins and the House's ultraconservative Birchite, John Schmitz of California.

The ranking Republican on the House subcommittee, Hastings Keith, fully supported the compromise bill during the floor debate as did his Republican colleague Louis Frey. The Macdonald compromise provided for an automatic flow-through of 30 percent of its $65 million in fiscal '73 and $90 million in the following year to the local stations. It passed the House by a vote of 256-69. Some three weeks later under the guidance of Senator John Pastore, chairman of the Senate Communications subcommittee, the bill passed the Senate 82-1.

With such support in the Congress, it is not surprising that the veto of the bill by President Nixon on June 30 provoked a stunned reaction on Capitol Hill. The response indicates that there was more to the President's action than a difference over funding procedures. The veto message spoke of the President's concern with the bill's lack of an "adequate emphasis on localism" and of the need for a more extensive experience with public broadcasting before granting long-range financing. Both of these statements point to the unspoken but serious charge that the Administration has against public television: the growth and increasing support of large-scale independent news and public affairs programming.

Congressman William Springer, the ranking Republican on the parent House Commerce Committee, conceded as much when he stated at the hearing on Macdonald's bill that the crux of the problem facing public broadcasting was news. The Corporation's centralized control and large-scale financing has allowed it to compete with the major networks in presenting news analysis, and has even allowed it to woo star newscasters. One was NBC's Sander Vanocur, hired at $85,000 per year. Word of his salary touched off an uproar among public television's critics. More upsetting to those critics, though, was Vanocur's liberal leanings.

Congressman Springer denounced a Duke University speech in which Vanocur was quoted as saying, "Nixon lies are his version of truth." In that speech the newscaster also charged that the commercial television industry had become nothing more than "a transmission belt for the views of those in power."

None of Springer's comments involved any criticism of Vanocur's on-the-air statements. Rather the attack was directed against the commentator's "psychological frame of mind." Springer demanded to know from Frank Pace, the Chairman of CPB, whether he believed that anyone who could utter such statements was psychologically able to abide by the Corporation's rules of "strict adherence to objectivity and balance." Finally Pace and CPB's President, John Macy, were forced into assuring the subcommittee that they would strictly enforce the Corporation's rules against slanted newscasting.

The opening round of the assaults on the news aspects of public broadcasting had begun in October, 1971

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when Clay T. Whitehead, the Director of the White House's Office of Telecommunications Policy, cautioned a National Association of Educational Broadcaster's convention that the educational stations were becoming too centralized and that their news programs were being formulated "by people with essentially similar outlooks." Whitehead's Agnew-like attack on the Eastern establishment's control of the media was followed by a warning to the broadcasters that such programming would be an open invitation to political scrutiny. He then continued with the threat that if the local stations did not heed his advice and break from their support of the CPB's centralizing policies "permanent financing of public broadcasting would always be somewhere off in the distant future."

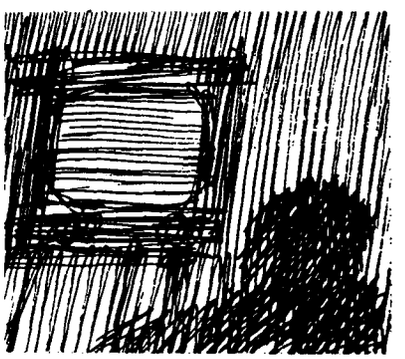
Some three months later in a panel discussion on "Politics and Public Broadcasting" the White House spokesman raised the question of whether public television should be carrying public affairs and news commentary at all. His argument was that commercial networks adequately cover that area and that the intrusion of public broadcasting into that field was an open invitation for political surveillance and intervention. Whitehead concluded his remarks with the somewhat heavy-handed threat that "the public television people would have to decide how much of that kind of activity they want to do." The implication was clear; either stop the news analysis which offended the Administration or forfeit the possibility of public financing.

The House evidently did not agree with Whitehead's interpretation on the role of news in public broadcasting. Extensive debate on the floor against CPB's news events failed to shake the conviction of the members that, despite occasional lapses and mistakes, public television had, on balance, provided a unique and valuable contribution to the nation's educational efforts. With the deft handling of subcommittee members Lionel Van Deerlin and Robert Tiernan, both vigorous supporters of public television, the Macdonald bill managed to ward off crippling amendments. It passed the House 254-69.

The White House tried its arguments over again in the Senate. Unfortunately for the Administration, the only Republican member of the Communications subcommittee who evidenced an interest in the issue, Howard Baker of Tennessee, was at an environmental conference in Stockholm during the one-day hearing on the bill. As a favor to the minority, the floor debate was delayed until his return in late June.

When the Macdonald bill did come to the floor, Senator Pastore was anxious to have it pass without any amendments. Senator Baker, however, persisted in raising the Administration's objection to the House bill by pressing an amendment to limit the authorization to one year at $45 million. The Tennessee Republican used the somewhat strained reasoning that a one-year limit would keep the pressure on the White House to present its frequently promised, but as yet unproduced, plan for long-range financing. He also argued that his proposal would keep the Congress from the temptation of meddling in program content. With that comment he thereupon proceeded to air his own complaints against CPB's screening of a nude ballet, Sander Vanocur's salary, and the anti-Administration views presented on WNET-TV's five-hour program on Vietnam. Senator Baker's arguments did not prove persuasive. His amendment was defeated 58-26.

Just before the final vote was taken on the two-year authorization, Senator Lowell Weicker, the independent-minded Republican from Connecticut, took the floor to announce that the central issue in the White House's opposition to the CPB's authorization did not concern the duration of the funding, the question of salaries, or the problem of a national television network. In his opinion, it was the President's displeasure at some of the political views expressed on public television that precipitated the Administration's opposition. Weicker



baldly articulated what was behind Baker's posturing: "The Administration does not like federally financed criticism." Baker heatedly rejected Weicker's interpretation of his motives, but the Connecticut Republican refused to retract his charge that it was political orientation, not network structure, that troubled the Administration.

The Senate was not prepared to destroy years of effort in establishing an independent and well financed public broadcast system just to provide the President with immunization from political criticism on public television. It passed the House version of the Macdonald bill on June 22 by a vote of 82-1.

On the very day that Pastore was guiding Macdonald's bill safely through the Senate, Macdonald himself was setting in motion a plan that would ultimately backfire and destroy his bill. The Massachusetts Democrat has a violent and enduring antipathy toward Tom Whitehead and the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy which he directs. He feels that they have intruded into areas such as public broadcasting and cable policy that are the exclusive domain of Congress and the Federal Communications Commission,

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so he set out to cut both Whitehead and his agency down to size.

Macdonald's attitude first surfaced at the hearings on his public broadcast bill when he berated FCC Chairman Dean Burch for abdicating his responsibilities to "that nebulous organization downtown." When Burch replied that OTP represents the President's views, Macdonald exploded, "Who cares about that? . . . I don't." The haranguing became so bitter and unproductive that Congressman Springer intervened to admonish the subcommittee chairman for badgering Burch. The interruption was to no avail. Macdonald continued his lashing against Whitehead and OTP.

Later that morning Macdonald had the opportunity to confront Whitehead directly. The result was an even more acrimonious and unproductive session than had occurred with Dean Burch. As soon as the OTP Director had concluded his opening statement, Macdonald demanded to know whom he represented. When Whitehead replied that he spoke for the Administration, Macdonald pressed him on whom he talked to in the White House and who gave him his orders. When Whitehead artfully dodged the questions on his relationships with the White House staff, Macdonald's pique reached such proportions that he shouted, "Do you understand that your funds come from Congress, that the Congress pays your salary?"

Some five months after that shouting match Macdonald attempted to make good on his threat to cut off OTP's funds. On the same June day that Pastore was pushing his bill quietly through the Senate, Macdonald was on the floor of the House proposing an amendment to cut OTP's appropriations by two-thirds. In support of his move the Massachusetts Congressman criticized the OTP as little more than "the Administration's tool for muzzling the media and controlling the FCC." The proposed amendment, which was designed to bring OTP to it knees, or at least to chasten its "czar," failed 188-148. Nonetheless, the sentiment in Macdonald's office was that the support for the amendment would shock OTP into the realization that Congress would not sit idly by while the White House tried to dismantle public broadcasting.

Eight days later came the veto. Macdonald professed to be shocked by the President's action. Other members of the Communications subcommittee also reacted with surprise and indignation. Senator Pastore, expressing dismay and amazement at the President's veto, pointed his accusing finger at "someone down at the White House who is carrying a chip on his shoulder against public TV." The Chairman of the full House Commerce Committee, Harley Staggers, was equally upset by the unanticipated move because in his words, "This is not a political matter."

A more revealing analysis of the politics behind the veto was provided by Brian Lamb, Whitehead's assistant at OTP. He indicated that the veto was precipitated by the shoddy treatment that the Administration's views received in both the House and the Senate. According to his analysis the Senate gave only a cursory glance at the President's position. Worse still was the response in the House where Chairman Macdonald used the public broadcast hearings as a forum to insult and humiliate Dr. Whitehead. Along with demeaning his qualifications, Macdonald continually questioned the President's chief communications advisor's right to speak for the Administration. The diatribe eventually deteriorated to the point where Whitehead challenged Macdonald to write directly to President Nixon if he had any doubts as to his authority to act as an Administration spokesman.

OTP viewed the entire episode not only as another example of Macdonald's well-known belligerency and rudeness to committee witnesses, but as a direct slap at the President. When the insult was followed by Macdonald's proposed gutting of its budget, OTP decided that it had to fight back. In Lamb's words, "We are a new agency. Some people don't think they have to pay attention to us. This veto will prove otherwise." Lamb believes that the veto will establish OTP's credibility and will win renewed respect for the agency in Congress and with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Whether the veto will bring respect is an open question. Its demoralizing effect is a fact. The Corporation's Chairman, President, Vice-President, and Director of Television Activities have already submitted their resignations. The *New York Times* reported that President John Macy's parting comments were that Nixon's reelection would be "the death blow to public television as I envision it."

The tragedy in this damage to public broadcasting is that the veto was so unnecessary. The Corporation had already responded to the Administration's criticisms on localism by promising to add five station managers to its board. It had also expressed a willingness to blunt anti-Administration bias in its programming. As late as mid-June Tom Whitehead had assured the National Programming Council that "the President will go along" with the Congressional action on the bill. Then came Macdonald's untimely stab at OTP. His bill—and public broadcasting—were the victims of OTP's vindictive response.

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an exchange of views

'Labor and the Intellectuals'

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: To be told in cold print that Peter Steinfels, when invited in his late teens to have lunch with the undersigned, was "too awestruck to say a word" was a sobering experience ["Labor and the Intellectuals," Sept. 8]. I will say this for Peter. He certainly knows how to make a man face up to reality and admit to himself, if not to others, that he is, in fact, as old as he undoubtedly looks and perhaps even as old as he feels on a typical Monday morning.

Be that as it may, I think the record ought to show that, when dining in public, I never (well, hardly ever) pay any attention to the salt and pepper shakers and always (well, almost always) pay reasonably close attention to the people sitting around the table. This is by way of reporting that I do, indeed, recall my first get-together with Mr. Steinfels (not that this information will make *him* feel any better when the alarm goes off on a Monday morning) and that I have been reading him with genuine admiration ever since. The fact that he didn't say a word when we broke bread together for the first time probably means that I was monopolizing the conversation. I am sorry about that, but you know how it is with older men. They tend to be rather garrulous.

The point is, however, that even if I wasn't listening carefully when Mr. Steinfels and I met for the first time, I tried to make up for it by giving undivided attention to his recent column, "Labor and the Intellectuals." I thought it was a good piece of writing—becomingly modest in tone and characteristically respectful of the other fellow's point of view. Its basic proposition was well taken, namely, that "for a great many intellectuals the growing distance between their politics and those of organized labor has been experienced with a sad heart; and that when they have separated paths with labor they have done so reluctantly; and when they had the opportunity to unite they did so enthusiastically."

This probably needed to be said if only to keep the Metaphysicians and the Economists reasonably honest. On the other hand, I think it also needs to be said that the case against (some) "intellectuals" is at least a wee bit stronger than Mr. Steinfels makes it out to be. Hidden away in his argument, it seems to me, are two questionable premises. The first is that "most intellectuals" are at odds with organized labor. That doesn't leave much room for the Michael Harringtons of this world, whose name, if not legion, is certainly rather impressive both in terms of quality as well as quantity.

Mr. Steinfels' second questionable premise is that "The obvious source of this bad feeling (between labor and the intellectuals) is the conviction on the part of most intellectuals that the war in Vietnam is despicable and criminal while the AFL-CIO doggedly pursues a foreign policy viewpoint about 45 degrees to the anti-Communist right of Professor Kissinger."

To many of us who have been following this controversy rather closely over the course of the years this is an "obvious" oversimplification. Granted that labor and (some) intellectuals are at serious odds in the area of foreign policy, the fact is that the criticism being leveled at the American labor movement by a good number of intellectuals centers more on domestic issues than on matters of foreign policy.

Derek C. Bok and John T. Dunlop have listed some, but not all, of these issues in their recent book entitled "Labor and the American Community":

> Although (labor's intellectual) critics display many differences in emphasis and detail, the main outlines of their thought are markedly similar. Almost all seem to agree that the root problem of American labor lies in the inadequacy of its leadership. . . . According to liberal critics . . . much of (labor's former) imagination and energy has now given way to bureaucratic routine. . . . This alleged deterioration is often linked to the growing affluence of labor unions, an affluence that is repeatedly emphasized by these writers through vivid descriptions of union buildings . . . union automobiles . . . and union conventions. . . ."

Bok and Dunlop then provide the reader with a number of typical quotations from labor's critics on each of these points. "These quotations," they point out, "are biting indeed, and many of the writers involved would doubtless concede that the language they employ is a shade too flamboyant and probably unfair to important segments of the labor movement. Nevertheless, the terms that are used reveal the indignation that is felt toward the style of life and the attitudes displayed by many labor leaders, especially in an era when many workers and union members are still at the edge of poverty."

Returning to this theme towards the end of their impressive book, and having quoted another series of typical statements from labor's intellectual critics, they conclude that "the portrait that emerges seems grossly oversimplified." American unions, they add, "are among the least understood of our social institutions. Interestingly enough, in contrast with opinions on most other subjects, views about unions often seem to stray furthest from the facts the higher one moves up the scale of income and education." I suspect that they would agree, in this

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connection, with Michael Harrington's statement in his new book *Socialism* that "throughout the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations in the sixties the unions' political organizations and lobbies were the strongest single force for progressive social legislation in Washington" and that "in terms of actual political pressure on issues like poverty, racism, and Social Security, the labor contingent did infinitely more than the middle-class intellectuals and churchmen who so often dismissed the unions with contempt. . . ."

Given enough space, I could cite from my bulging files on this subject all sorts of evidence to corroborate my contention (which I take to be the same as that of Bok and Dunlop, Harrington, et al.) that the criticism being leveled against organized labor by intellectuals is more complicated (and, by the way, less flattering to the intellectuals) than Mr. Steinfels makes it out to be. In lieu of that, let me simply add, for the record, that I agree with Sidney Hyman when he says in his recent book *The Politics of Consensus*:

> It is not anti-intellectual to subject the testimony any man of letters (any intellectual) offers on political issues to the ordinary rules of evidence in a courtroom. It is a mark of respect for the intellectual vocation. It is not brutish to strip away the aesthetic dress worn by the testimony offered on such issues by a man of letters (an intellectual) and to ask him directly: 'How do you know what you think you know about what you are saying?' It is, on the contrary, a dangerous neglect of the vigilance truth always needs if one assumes automatically that because a literary witness (an intellectual) talks and writes well, the general picture he gives of the political world around him is more balanced and reliable than other witnesses. The literary witness (the intellectual) can solemnly vow to tell the *whole* truth, but the judge has no business to overlook motives or to suppose that any witness can ever tell the whole truth. The literary witness (the intellectual), like any other witness, must submit himself to the rigors of a cross-examination. If he is 'alienated' from society on that account, the fault lies with him and not with society.

I think I know as much about labor's faults and imperfections (and even its crimes, if you will) as most of its more vocal intellectual critics. This is by way of emphasizing that, in quoting this passage from Sidney Hyman, I am not suggesting that the labor movement doesn't stand in need of serious criticism. I am simply saying that, in my judgment, some of labor's critics in the intellectual community are not as well informed about the labor movement as they seem to think they are, that they are inclined to take themselves a little too seriously, and, if the truth must be told, are a wee bit snobbish to boot.

In conclusion, one example will suffice to illustrate the point I am driving at. I happen to know a fair amount about the farm labor problem on the West Coast. As a Consultant to the U.S. Bishops Committee on Farm Labor, I have made some 40-odd trips to California alone during the past three or four years and have participated in almost all of the major negotiations between the farm workers and the many growers with whom they have signed collective bargaining contracts. On the basis of this experience, I know enough to laugh out loud every time I hear one of labor's intellectual critics sound off to the effect that the labor movement has done practically nothing to advance the farm workers' cause. That seems to be the chic thing to say these days. The fact of the matter is, however, that next to Cesar Chavez himself no single individual has done as much to advance *la causa* as William Kircher, the down-to-earth, tireless, self-effacing Director of Organization for the national AFL-CIO. Yet I would be willing to wager that not one out of a hundred of the labor movement's intellectual critics has ever heard of Kircher, and I know for a fact that very few of those who have written about the farm worker problem have even so much as mentioned his name. I must assume that this is because they have never heard of him —or could it be that they are turned off by his prosaic style and just don't happen to find him very interesting? Whatever of that, the point is that, while there are undoubtedly too many complacent or even reactionary hacks in the organized labor movement, there are also many Kirchers. The trouble is that too many (not all, but too many) of labor's intellectual critics either don't know about them or refuse to take them seriously. To paraphrase Mr. Hyman, the fault, in this respect, lies with them.

In summary, I think we have a right to ask them: "How do you know what you think you know about what you are saying?"

(MSGR.) GEORGE G. HIGGINS
Secretary for Research
United States Catholic Conference

Reply

If it is difficult to generalize about the labor movement, which is at least an identifiable entity, it is twice as difficult to generalize about intellectuals, who are an ill-defined, amorphous group. Having run the risk of such generalization, I am quite willing to accept Msgr. Higgins' corrections, which I would like to reformulate into three propositions, leaving out the question of the salt-and-pepper shakers:

1) Whether or not "most intellectuals" are at odds with organized labor, some very significant ones, e.g., Michael Harrington, are not.

2) The division between intellectuals and labor has its roots in domestic issues as well as foreign policy.

3) Intellectual critics of labor often don't know what they are talking about.

To further the discussion, however, I would add some comments on each of the points above. To begin with, even the Michael Harringtons of this world, or more precisely, *the* Michael Harrington of this world, is having his

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differences with organized labor. At least one of the factors involved in Harrington's recent decision to resign as Chairman of the Socialist Party was what he felt to be that body's undue adherence to the AFL-CIO position on the Presidential race and the role of the "New Politics" element in the Democratic party. Harrington has not renounced his faith in the labor movement; he continues to believe it to be the fundamental element in any effective coalition of progressive political forces. For the moment, however, his path is diverging somewhat from that of the most official spokesmen(man). In all of which, I would agree with Msgr. Higgins that Harrington is a much more representative intellectual than is sometimes granted.

Msgr. Higgins is quite right in pointing out that domestic issues as much as foreign affairs have fueled intellectuals' discontents with the labor movement. Intellectuals have often expressed disappointment with the labor movement's performance on issues like civil rights, organizing the unorganized, and so on, a disappointment which has not infrequently stemmed either from impossibly high standards or simple lack of knowledge. But seldom could the intellectuals find any other major element in the society which was performing any better—not Wall Street, not the Republican party, not the churches. Often enough, the intellectuals' complaints were not at all about the *ends* which the labor movement espoused but, rightly or wrongly, about the energy with which those ends were pursued. The result was that, for all their mutual carping (and it should not be exaggerated), the intellectuals and labor almost always ended in the same camp at election time. The war in Vietnam has changed that.

The war has thrown up a series of political movements which have resulted in a struggle for preeminence in the Democratic party. To at least some observers, one aspect of this struggle involves a contest between labor leaders and their constituency (allied with some intellectuals) and the intellectuals and their constituency (allied with some labor leaders). Whether this is an accurate or useful description of the situation is arguable. At any rate there is nothing untoward about such a struggle—just as long as it is not a struggle to the death. Unfortunately there are some intellectuals who seem to believe that the political power of organized labor must be *broken;* there are also some labor leaders (and, as often as not, other intellectuals identifying themselves with these labor leaders) who seem to believe that the political power of the intellectuals must be *broken;* and as justification for their scorched-earth strategy, both groups point to the other group as representative of all intellectuals or all labor. To the extent that they get away with this, a mutual reinforcement is set up whereby each group's views may indeed become representative. My column, with all its shortcomings, was meant to oppose this process, based as it is on premises which I, and I presume Msgr. Higgins, believe are factually untrue and politically dangerous.

PETER STEINFELS

BOOKS

Religious life: is it really a matter of booze, sex and selfishness?

Tight White Collar
JOHN L'HEUREUX
Doubleday, $5.95

The Clang Birds
JOHN L'HEUREUX
Macmillan, $5.95

RALPH MC INERNY

"You have one talent, for stripping away softness and beauty and laying bare the hard and ugly nature of things." These words are taken from an epistle written by a spurned and trifled-with nun to Father Ransom, main character in *Tight White Collar*, the first of John L'Heureux's novels devoted to the religious life. That they are important words is attested to by the fact that they are quoted on the jacket of the book; that it is not too much to regard them as slyly self-referential will be established by and by. If the cheap shot were a literary genre, one would have to say that L'Heureux shows himself an unhappy master of it in *Tight White Collar* and his more recent *The Clang Birds*. The priests and nuns of these stories are a far cry from the characters in the saccharine novels once published by Bruce and Benziger; they are equally distant from those we meet in J. F. Powers and Edwin O'Connor or in what one is tempted to call the fiction of the Irish school; they have little in common with the priests of Mauriac, Bernanos and Greene. Bocaccio suggests a comparison, perhaps, but the world of L'Heureux is closer to that of Maria Monk and the Marquis de Sade. Whatever the surface phenomena, whatever the apparent softness and beauty of the religious vocation, L'Heureux is here to tell us that the hard and ugly nature of the lives of priests and nuns is a matter of booze and sex and selfishness, with little redeeming social value. We are asked to exchange the bodiless heroes and heroines of those Bruce and Benziger sagas for hollow soulless characters who move across a lunar landscape uttering smirking *double entendres*, their thoughts and language scatological,

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IMMANUEL VELIKOVSKY *Reconsidered*

Special Issue • Pensée Magazine • Stephen L. Talbott, Editor • First Printing: 35,000

During the 1950's Dr. Immanuel Velikovsky published his bestsellers, *Worlds in Collision* and *Earth in Upheaval,* in which he argued that the earth suffered a series of cosmic catastrophes during historical times. These upheavals, he claimed, sculpted our planet's face and changed the course of history, bringing an end to Egypt's Middle Kingdom, destroying civilizations around the world, and figuring in the Israelite Exodus. (This last receives detailed treatment in *Ages in Chaos.*) Initially castigated for his views by scientists, Velikovsky has now been vindicated by numerous space-age discoveries. This special issue of *Pensee* surveys the evidence.

The Scientific Mafia — *David Stove, senior lecturer, department of philosophy, University of Sydney, Australia*

How Stable is the Solar System? — *Dr. C. J. Ransom, plasma physicist, General Dynamics*

A Record of Success —Thomas Ferte, department of humanities, Oregon College of Education
37 documented confirmations of Velikovsky's scientific claims, most of which were considered unlikely or impossible when he first voiced them. For example, regarding the moon, Velikovsky deduced (before the Apollo landings) that (1) the lunar "rocks and lavas could conceivably be rich in remanent magnetism resulting from strong currents when in the embrace of exogenous magnetic fields"; (2) "Since the moon was heated and its surface became molten only a few thousand years ago, the temperature gradient under the surface crust will show, to some depth, a mounting curve"; and (3) "excessively strong radioactivity will be detected in localized areas" on the moon.

Lunar Rocks and Velikovsky's Claims — *Dr. Derek York, associate professor, geophysics division, University of Toronto*

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cloacal, lubricious, vinous. John Updike once wrote of Salinger's characters that even God could not love them as much as their author does. Who but the devil could be as malicious as L'Heureux?

Tight White Collar, rather a longish short story than a novel, gathering as it does to a murky epiphany on the part of the young Jesuit, Father Ransom, tells of a priest doing graduate work in Boston. Ransom despises his fellow man, begrudges any demands made upon him as a priest, seemingly confines his reading to *The New Yorker* and newsmagazines; he is a man wholly self-centered who should never have become a priest and by all the logic of the story should get out. He does and he doesn't. The opening passage of the novel, one extremely well-written and which promises so much more than the sequel provides, informs us that after the time of the novel Ransom does indeed leave and marry but, in the framework of the story, he decides to remain. The great difficulty of the story is that we are not provided with any vantage point from which to interpret what is going on. L'Heureux pays lip service to some ideal that Ransom does not and cannot embody but the net impression the novel leaves us with is that the ideal is illusory and unreal. Certainly none of the other characters embodies it. They are, if possible, more odious than Ransom himself. A curiosity of the narrative is that through other characters as well as the author himself, the suggestion is several times made that Ransom is a pleasant, attractive young man, eager to help others. There is no evidence whatsoever provided for such a view of him. When his epiphany comes his realization would seem to be that it is the world, and not himself, that is awry.

The Clang Birds is billed as a savage satirical novel about the bright young people in the Christian anti-war movement. It is also self-described as wicked and hilarious. At least one side of those dual descriptions of the novel is accurate. The *Tight White Collar* can be dismissed as unsuccessful and unsavory and slight. The failure of *The Clang Birds* is multi-faceted. Perhaps it was only seemingly to spare his former fellows, the Jesuits, but, by inventing the Order of St. Thomas, L'Heureux invites comparison with *Morte D'Urban*, and from this his novel can only suffer. St. Gomer, the founder of the Thomasites, is the source of the title. "The Clang Bird," he wrote, "is a rare creature that flies in ever decreasing circles at ever increasing speeds until with a terrible clang it disappears up its own ass. It is only because of the will of God that the Clang Bird is not extinct." Unfortunately, this passage effectively captures the level of wit in the novel. The choice of "clang" here, which is unintelligible, would not bother a writer of grafitti, but L'Heureux is a poet.

At the outset of the second novel, we are back in the Boston residence for Jesuits we encountered in *Tight White Collar*. A group of priests and scholastics, characters cut from the same cardboard as before, are given permission to set up an independent experimental residence. A sexual circus of overlapping rings with much self-dramatizing and confused self-examination is here offered as the hard and ugly underpinning of the anti-war movement. All the mandatory scenes are here: marches, meetings, the assault on the draft board office. Again, the difficulty is one of vantage point. Are these characters found wanting with reference to a more adequate conception of the religious life? Are they found wanting by comparison with a more effective anti-war agitation? One who read *The Clang Birds* as a *roman à clef*, decoding in the direction of Berrigans and Sister Elizabeths, would be responding to a clear invitation. The book's message then is that those priests and nuns whose trials and tribulations you have been

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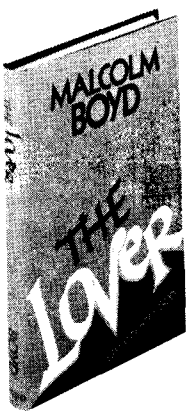
reading of are finally a group of horny lushes whose private frustrations have been transposed into a public key. But L'Heureux waffles on this and destroys the book's satirical potential.

The main reason that the book lacks a single attitude toward its characters, however unjust and however unestablished within the narrative, is that John L'Heureux himself intrudes upon the story. *Picnic in Babylon*, a book L'Heureux wrote while he was still a Jesuit, is passed around among the characters. "The jacket promised something about the inside story of a priestly vocation and Natalie went at the book with the enthusiasm she had once brought to Middle English. That enthusiasm dwindled, however, as she recognized on page after page the infallible pronouncements of a closed mind. This man was so sure, so positive, but how did he get that way." (p. 130) "The book eventually reached Reginald and disturbed him profoundly because he kept identifying with the author. There were similarities which explained this: their ages were the same, their religious training similar, they were both enthusiasts. Furthermore, their motivation for becoming priests was identical. And that was what disturbed Reginald most, for from the tone of the book he was certain of one thing: the author was an introverted, unhappy young man who ought never to have been a priest." (p. 134). Since Reginald is the book's main character, it is difficult to avoid the realization that L'Heureux is the protagonist of this novel just as, masked as Ransom, he was of the first. Reginald, like Ransom, is *said* to be charming (a quality identified with his white teeth and general comparability to an ice cream cone), generous, kind, etc., but he is never *shown* to be any of these.

Tight White Collar would seem to provide the motif of both books. "It's not my fault and it's not theirs either. I was trying to do something that was too hard for me to do." The remark refers to the priesthood, but it can cover these two novels as well. It is a curious



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fact that the credible clerics of fiction are creations of laymen. Apparently laicization is not enough. L'Heureux is perhaps too close to all this to effect the credible self-exculpation he is after. His novels do not suggest that the religious vocation is, while difficult, a worthy ideal of pursuit. Guilt is exorcized by portraying the priesthood, the Jesuits, the religious life, as so many masks which imperfectly conceal an egocentric sexuality, the latter being, so far as these novels are concerned, the hard and ugly nature of things. Nor is it only the priests and nuns who are distorted (and I mean distortion within the confines of fictive credibility). L' Heureux's children are hideous grotesques, his few domestic scenes suggest unrelieved bitterness, vacuity, flaccid bestiality. Everything and everyone is as suffocatingly depressing as his world of religious graduate students. There is little point in discussing the massive lapse in taste and tact and charity these novels represent. It is enough that they fail as fiction and that is a fault that L'Heureux must shoulder as his own.

Stalin: The History of a Dictator

H. MONTGOMERY HYDE

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $12.95

Russia: The Post-War Years

ALEXANDER WERTH

Taplinger, $12.00

RICHARD M. MILLS

Winston Churchill's memorable cry of exasperation in 1939 that Russia was a riddle wrapped in the mystery inside an enigma is considerably less true today. Yet it remains a fact that even now we know relatively little about certain crucial aspects of the Soviet Union's past. The value of the books under review is that they probe two such areas—Hyde the mysteries surrounding the career of the secretive and sinister Soviet leader, Werth, in his posthumously published volume, the still poorly documented and little investigated era immediately following World War II, the era which was so important in creating the political world in which we have been living for the past twenty-five years.

Since Werth begins his analysis in the prewar years, there is some overlap with Hyde; but because Hyde's treatment of the postwar years is rather sketchy, the two books in general complement each other.

Hyde's *Stalin* lies somewhere between anecdotal and documentary political biography. He excels at conveying the atmosphere of entire periods as well as of specific events. To achieve this effect he draws from memories of Old Bolsheviks, Soviet military heroes of World War II, Western statesmen and Soviet defectors. The problem is that the veracity of some of these materials cannot be established, particularly the defectors' and the purported memoirs of Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers.* Hyde's tendency is often to accept gossipy accounts as fact, and the reader is therefore forced to exercise a very discriminating judgment too often.

These are the inevitable hazards of attempting to write a comprehensive biography of a shadowy character, and Mr. Hyde has produced the fullest account yet, probing Stalin as a young revolutionary apparently working simultaneously for a time with the Tsarist secret police, as a "comer" in the labyrinth of Caucasian socialist politics, a man whose family life was stormy, whose list of defeated rivals surely exceeds that of any other politician anywhere, and whose leisure habits revolved around gargantuan dinners and banquets. The whole picture is shot through with secretiveness, ingenious political maneuvering and constant suspicion, which are at one and the same time the causes and costs of his success and also the legacy that the Soviet Union finds it so hard to overcome. Indeed, in a postscript Hyde describes the macabre removal of Stalin's body from Lenin's tomb in 1961 and the countervailing semi-rehabilitation following Khrushchev's ouster in 1964.

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Of particular interest is Stalin's behavior as world statesman, in which context Hyde shows him to have had immense insight and to have been a clever participant in international politics—his worst mistake lying in his pathetic trust that Hitler would abide by the non-aggression treaty signed with the Soviet Union in 1939.

Hyde's account is a balanced one in that it reflects the multi-faceted character and activity of Stalin much more comprehensively than have his previous biographies. When interpreting the materials, Hyde generally strikes a balance also, being neither an apologist nor a vituperative detractor. On the other hand, the book is not totally free of factual errors.

Any account of Stalin's life necessarily suffers from the paucity of documentary evidence. There is a whole history locked securely in the Central Committee's files in Moscow that someday may allow us to flesh out what we now have to infer or merely hint at. For the meanwhile what Mr. Hyde has produced is very close to being the best that could be produced by way of a general biography. The value of the book is enhanced by a helpful bibliography, notes and some interesting illustrations.

Alexander Werth's book illustrates the strengths and pitfalls of the knowledgeable journalist writing historical and political interpretation. The volume centers on an analysis of Soviet domestic and foreign policy from 1945 through 1948.

Werth's most important observation is that the Cold War did not originate during World War II but only took a new form at that time. The change was exemplified in two events taking place in April and May of 1943 when first the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in Exile and then the Comintern was dissolved. The former act laid the cornerstone of the new Cold War, the latter demolished the cornerstone of the older Cold War. This view has the virtue of putting the tenuous nature of the wartime alliance into perspective.

Like some Revisionist historians of the Cold War Werth believes that history would have turned out differently had Roosevelt lived for several years longer. Because FDR did not perceive the Soviets to be the menace that Truman believed them to be, the era of cooperation could have continued beyond the war.

Like all "iffy" statements that hypothesis has several weaknesses, the main one being that it underrates the extent of anti-Communist feeling in the United States which was manifest even after recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933 and was bound to reappear full-force after the war ended. In the second place during the war and at wartime conferences it was mainly Churchill, not FDR, who dealt with Stalin on the major European political problems; consequently Roosevelt would have been playing quite a different role at Potsdam than he had earlier. Cooperating despite divergent peacetime goals was one thing during the war, but it inevitably became more difficult once the war ended. Thirdly, for reasons of internal American politics, it is unlikely that FDR would have been able to effect a compromise with Stalin on Poland, the very cornerstone

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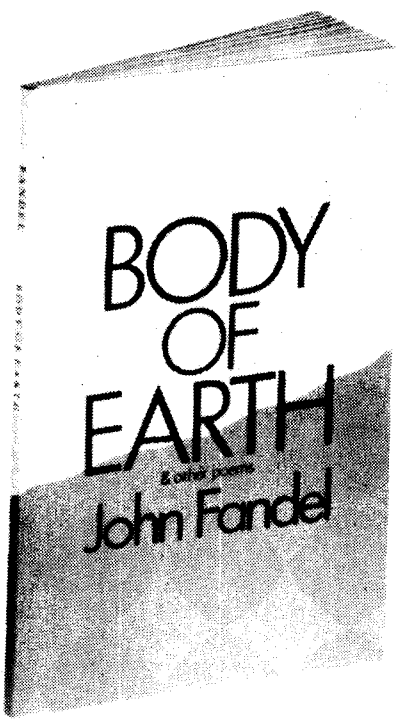

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of the new Cold War, as Werth himself pointed out.

Another theme in the book is the satellization of Eastern Europe. Here Werth is generally sympathetic to the Soviet policy, although on some specific issues he develops a unique critical stance as, for example, when he calls the 1947 "free and unfettered elections" conducted in Poland in pursuance of the Yalta Conference's stipulations a swindle. He is also clearly sympathetic toward the Yugoslavs for refusing to accept the kind of tutelage that Stalin was imposing upon the rest of eastern Europe. These contradictory positions are characteristic of Werth's writings in general and are nowhere resolved. Apparently he reacts equally negatively to both anti-Soviet stimuli coming from the West and also to particularly blatant manifestations of Soviet power directed against other socialist countries as Yugoslavia in 1948 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Be that as it may, his portrayals of Soviet life in the postwar years are knowledgable and sensitive and well worth reading. Here his sympathy for people caught up in situations beyond their power to control is not colored by any ideological commitment and is quite spontaneous and warmly human. His analysis of Soviet cultural life is also very valuable.

The major problem with the book is its paucity of documentation. Werth was an informed journalist with considerable insight. But here he has tried to go beyond journalistic reporting and write a history of a very complex juncture in human events. To an extent he has succeeded, particularly from the point of view of having covered the multitude of issues outstanding among the Allies. For some readers this may be a good refresher course, for others an eye-opener. He has documented his analysis to a certain extent, but in a spotty way and he has sometimes not hesitated to read the minds of the protagonists and present his reading as if it were obvious fact.

Another criticism grows out of Werth's failure to reach the conclusion suggested in his earlier mentioned unique critical stance. Granted that the ideological perceptions of the leaders, East and West, had much to do with the creation of the postwar situation, power politics played a considerable role as well. Thus, no matter how exalted the principles, many dubious means were utilized in putting the principles into practice.

Finally, it has to be stressed that it is too early to speak with anything like certitude about Soviet policymaking attitudes in the postwar years. In contrast to the plethora of materials on United States and British policymaking, we have only the barest outline on how the Soviets produced their policies. We do know the results, the concrete policies put into effect, but we have no memoirs, no contemporary press accounts, no published minutes of meetings, no news leaks that would give us a picture of what was motivating whom.

Thus, all writing about this period has a built-in imbalance. In that context Werth has given the Soviet Union many a benefit of the doubt and from this point of view the book will make interesting reading.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 171)

Most important of all, Jewish disillusionment with McGovern only started when Humphrey attacked his record on Israel. The Field poll in California shows that in May, 75 percent of Jews supported McGovern against only 15 percent for Nixon.

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Then came the Israel issue, and the V. P. affair. A poll in *Time* magazine (10/2/72) indicated that 55 percent of blacks, 53 percent of college students and 52 percent of Jews would vote for McGovern. Shall we say that everyone is becoming conservative or just that McGovern wasn't a strong candidate? Finally, Porter's interpretation of the Jewish vote in L.A. and Bradley is biased. What happened there and elsewhere is that Jews are developing socio-economic splits like everyone else.

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To the Editors: The tone as well as the "facts" in the articles [Oct. 13] by Irving Horowitz and Jack Porter—I presume that like Horowitz, Porter is Jewish—lead one to believe that neither writer belongs to a synagogue or is particularly involved in or concerned with Jewish life. The two writers' prime allegiance is apparently to Liberalism which for them is an absolute and clearly defined entity whereby even God in heaven must be judged or else.

Now to a few of the so-called facts in the writers' unbroken litany of misstatements and misinterpretations:

1. Most rich Jews, particularly the unJewish ones, remain in the Democratic camp. The ones who have been shifting to Nixon are poor Jews who get beaten up and are terrorized in city streets. These Jews belong to the lower- and lower-lower-middle class, and their "selfish" stake in the election is no more than protection of life and limb, a protection they believe Nixon may be more willing to give.

2. Not one young Rabbi or teacher *anywhere* was fired because of "innovative pedagogical techniques." *En passant*: Qualified Hebrew teachers being so rare, are not likely to be fired under any circumstances.

3. Jack Neusner is not an Orthodox Jew and does not teach at Rutgers. He teaches at Brown.

So much for the accuracy of just a few of the so-called facts. As for the tone, both articles, utterly humorless, are marked primarily by the hallooing and whip-cracking of heresy hunts in "the peace-loving Democracies."

Since the writers' mastery of "facts" is so limited, their possession of the Truth as well as their capacity for judging the Jewish community is to say the least questionable.

WILLIAM G. BRAUDE
Rabbi, Temple Beth-El

Last time around in New York City, Mr. Nixon received slightly less than 15 percent of the Jewish vote; this time, preliminary studies indicate that figure more than doubled.

—THE EDITORS

REVIEWERS

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